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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this independent monthly newsletter is to report what universities, non-governmental organizations, governmental agencies, the United Nations, religious groups, and concerned individuals do and think about peace and the development of enforceable world law. Main articles in this issue are on the following: 1) pollution as a worldwide problem; 2) China policy; 3) comments by Margaret Mead on peace and world politics; 4) activities of the American Field Service International Scholarships program; 5) United Nations and world population control; and, 6) a report on the World Order Committee of the Foreign Relations Task Force, White House Conference on Youth, held April 18-22 at Estes Park, Colorado. Correspondence from readers is regularly included, as well as news of the United Nations and notices of other international organization's activities. Future issues of this newsletter are available only by subscription. (Author/JSB)

EDO 052102

What Do We Do About China?

Stick to the Charter!

By YU-TANG DANIEL LEW, formerly Professor of Political Science at National Tsinghua University, Peiping, and at Mackinac College, Michigan.

CAN THE WORLD have peace without law?

This is a question people must answer when they discuss the problem of China and the United Nations today. For if they try to resolve this problem without honoring the legal principles involved, the moral and legal foundations for the future of a world of peace and justice will be destroyed.

What are the relevant legal principles that must be respected and which cannot be compromised or sacrificed? They include:

— The United Nations is a legal as well as a political institution. The Charter of the United Nations is the most fun-

(Continued on Page 4)

Honor Self-determination!

ADAPTED from a background paper put out recently by the Board of Missions of the United Methodist Church.

WHILE the many different perceptions of the means to improve relations with China are complex and present many obstacles, at their heart lies the problem of Taiwan. Until the Taiwan issue is resolved it seems fair to say that relations between the U.S. and China will remain strained.

At first glance, the Taiwan issue seems to be a matter of choosing one Chinese "government" over another. Both the Communist People's Republic of China and the Nationalist Republic of China claim that Taiwan is an integral part of Chinese territory — they merely differ over which is the legitimate government of China.

And, indeed, up until the Sino-Jap-

(Continued on Page 4)

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By AARON L. DANZIG, Fellow of Woodrow Wilson International Ce for Scholars; Chairman of the Un Nations Committee of the World Pe Through Law Center.

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WHITE HOUSE youths ask for Connally repeal, war end, studies to strengthen U.N. ..8

World Court Bills Introduced in U.S. Senate

U.S. SENATE action on Democratic-Republican companion measures to repeal the Connally Reservation awaits political pressure from citizens. The Reservation symbolizes U.S. opposition to participate in an effective World Court.

Senators Jacob K. Javits and Hubert H. Humphrey introduced the companion resolutions some weeks ago, Leonard Strickman, speaking for Sen. Javits from the senator's Washington, D.C., offices, commented recently.

The Humphrey resolution, co-sponsored by Javits, would repeal the Connally Reservation outright. The Javits resolution, co-sponsored by Humphrey, would repeal the Connally Reservation as it relates "to all cases arising under treaties and other international agreements to which the U.S. is a party."

Reaction to the companion resolutions, Mr. Strickman reports, has been scattered. Organized support and/or opposition hasn't surfaced. Because of the press of other matters, including China, there seems to be no immediate prospect of Foreign Relations Committee hearings, the next step in the process of declaring the U.S. willing to participate in world order as interpreted by the U.N. World Court.

As of now, Mr. Strickman isn't sure that the Connally Reservation would be repealed, even if it could be brought to a Senate vote. Regardless, progress depends on the will of the people, Mr. Strickman said.

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Edvard Hambro says he is often warned that he shouldn't say that the U.N. can do "this or that" despite national sovereignty. "I am told not to say things like that," he said at the annual conference of the U.N.'s non-governmental organizations (NGO's) on May 25 and 26. Such talk about the limitations of national sovereignty, national independence, scares people, Mr. Hambro has been told often.

"My response," Mr. Hambro told the NGO's, "is to say that they need to be scared!"

The Assembly President made it clear that what he means is that world leaders need to confront the shocking reality that the only way to save a fragile, threatened world environment is through effective international law and enforcement systems sufficient to specific tasks.

"I do not mean to abolish sovereignty," he said. "I do not want to deprive nations of their independence. But when sovereignty and independence stand in the way of constructive cooperation" in vital areas, they must be modified in the common interest of protecting the environment and thereby insuring the survival of people on earth.

"It serves no purpose to talk about absolute national independence," Mr. Hambro declared with vigor. "It does not exist." The interdependence of modern nations, the restraints put upon sovereignty by the facts of life, are obvious to most people. Efforts must now be made to energize the U.N. into action on the basis of those facts. "We must tell ourselves that this is a job that must be done. Then," Mr. Hambro said, "we will find ways to do it. Then we will not hear so much (irrelevant) talk about sovereignty... Nation understand that they must work to to solve international problems must have law and collaboration than obsolete sovereignty."

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There is no question that the U.S. intentionally set about to extend the first shaky evidences of friendship. She said that all who wished to visit mainland China were free to do so and
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Face the Facts!

By LUTHER H. EVANS, Director of International and Legal Collections, Columbia University; former Librarian of Congress and Director-General of UNESCO — in a talk given to the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia in 1965.

THE AFFAIRS of nations are sometimes governed by erroneous estimates and mistaken judgments: Classic examples are the estimates of the Germans in both world wars that the United States would not come in at all, or, if so, too late to determine the outcome; President Truman thought that Communist China would not enter the Korean War; Russia was convinced that the U.S. would not face up to the prospect of nuclear war in order to get the missiles out of Cuba.

I think we have a case of this kind in regard to U.S. foreign policy toward China today. Public opinion, by some process we do not fully understand, developed a solidified position which made it almost treasonable to propose
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Mr. Hambro's was the final statement of a two-day meeting during which NGO's discussed environmental problems and geared up for environmental action focused on the U.N. Environmental Conference in Stockholm in 1972.

U.N. SYSTEM MOBILIZED

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL of the 1972 Stockholm conference, Maurice Strong, told the NGO's that the whole U.N. system is mobilized in preparing the basic papers essential to well-considered proposals.

Referring to cooperation received from regional economic commissions, Mr. Strong commended the symposium on the environment held at Prague under the Economic Commission for Europe. He described the Prague meeting and the Stockholm conference as integral.

Stressing the crucial role of the developing countries in making the conference a success, Mr. Strong said that arrangements had been made for regional meetings in each of the four regions of the world. Three of these meetings will take place before and one after the third session of the Conference Preparatory Committee this September.

A major youth conference in Hamilton, Ontario, hopefully will provide opportunity to participate in conference preparations.

Also planned is a meeting of the world scientific community. Scientists from the "developing world" will attend the event in Canberra, Australia.

Stockholm "forum" facilities including a tennis court and theatre have been provided for the 1972 conference "in order to create a dynamic interaction" between non-government and government activities.

Mr. Strong appealed to non-governmental organizations to promote the Stockholm conference, both at home and abroad. He cautioned that the success of the event will depend not on the number of persons who attend but on whether or not a basis is laid for governmental action.

THE GALILEAN TROUBLEMAKER

JESUS CHRIST was a troublemaker and doomed from the beginning to crucifixion, Probyn Vivian Marsh, Deputy Permanent U.N. Representative from Jamaica, said as he addressed the U.N. NGO's at lunch May 26. Praising the Lord, Mr. Marsh pointed out that here was a man who wore his hair long, who associated with disreputable characters like Mary Magdalene and who went around the countryside telling stories about a low-class Samaritan being better than the Levites, the priest-class of their day.

Deploring the tendency of the human animal to conform to the mythologies of the status quo and to form cliques based on personality and wealth as well as race, Mr. Marsh urged that the taboos of all writ be examined and re-examined in the light of overall religious and common sense. He noted that Ham, the black man cursed in the Bible, gave an irrationalization for bigots to mistreat Negroes. The bigotry that resulted is not unlike the class-wealth
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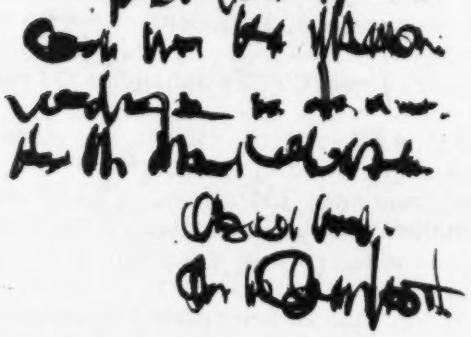

World Court Under Study

I just wanted you to know that I had received the papers* you sent along to me, and I will look them over with real keen interest. I am going to do some studying on the World Court.

George Bush

(On the letterhead of the United States Representative to the United Nations.)

* One paper contained a report of Senator Javits's intention to call for repeal of the Connally Reservation—which, in effect, prohibits the U.S. from participating in an effective World Court.

No Financial Crisis at the U.N.

Consider the following statement of Edvard Hambro, President of the U.N. General Assembly, before a Meet the Press panel in October 1970:

"When people talk about the financial crisis of the United Nations, they are, of course, fooling themselves. It is not a financial crisis; it is a political crisis. The money could, of course, be found if they were politically willing to spend the money. We must realize that the whole budget of the United Nations is not bigger than a first-class American university, and I have been told the whole budget of the organization is about equivalent to the budget of the Fire Department of New York City. To think that the world powers and all nations together couldn't get the money together is, to my mind, absolutely absurd."

So there you have it. It is no wonder that university students, realizing that much of their accumulated knowledge of social science will be passed over, make up a large portion of those students our society tends to label un-

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Richard A. Falk, Professor of International Law at Princeton University; Director of the North American World Order Section of the World Law Fund
Wolfgang Friedmann, Director of International Legal Research at the School of Law, Columbia University

Missouri Church Mundializes

Wednesday evening, May 12, at the annual meeting of All Souls Congregation, members proclaimed themselves "mundialized": world citizens pledged to global cooperation under law. The resolution was brought before the congregation by Dr. Norman Royall...

The proclamation, along with a check for the United Nations special account, has been sent to Secretary-General U Thant by Dr. Raymond Bragg.

Plans are being developed for "twinning" with another Unitarian congregation in another country.

The flag of the United Nations now flies alongside the flag of the United States at All Souls Church.

In the past mundialization has been a process used by municipalities to declare themselves world cities — fragments of world territory linked to the community of man. Over half the cities of Japan, many European and Canadian, and two American cities are mundialized.

Now institutions are declaring themselves mundialized in order to encourage other institutions making up the community to join them in similar declarations and in pressing the city council to make a municipal proclamation of mundialization.

Two local colleges have taken this action: Longview and Avila. All Souls is the first church to mundialize.

Charles Bebb

QUESTION FOR MEMBERS
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(See the Times of May 12.)

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George Thomas
Mitla, Oaxaca, Mexico

More than Spot News Involved

At first thought, the purpose of your paper seems rather modest, but it's actually a big-time undertaking: showing the major media the vast newsfield they're missing.

As for the federation of the world, it's going on right under their noses-for-news without many of them getting much of the essential news-values. The scientists in the Antarctic; the international reciprocations among biologists, botanists, religious leaders, geologists, astrophysicists, medics — God knows how many others, have already formed federating processes which, though invisible as systems, are functioning more or less thoroughly, so that wherever the military chances to be concerned in any of this, all it can find itself good for is either to lend a hand or get the hell out of the way.

And all that the media, apparently, see of this spontaneous societism everywhere is this or that remarkable incident or personality; they're cockeyed unaware of the process.

What's going on couldn't possibly have been preached into existence, legislatively initiated, or in any wise decreed. It's more of an anthropological phenomenon than anything nameable else.

And so here you are, reporting it to the fulltime, timekeeping, out-of-time reporters! Even if you had to quit right now, which God forbid, you've already gone and done it: you've got in on the aforementioned process.

David Greenhood
Santa Fe

Wolfgang Friedmann, Director of International Legal Research at the School of Law, Columbia University

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Charles Bebb
401 Harvard Circle
Kansas City, Missouri 641

IT WOULD APPEAR that the major powers have been progressively abandoning the U.N. as the main instrument for regulating international affairs. I see a positive connection between this process and the process by which a limited club of 51 members has been transformed into a nearly universal sodality of 127 independent states...It is a fact that sharp cries of dissatisfaction are heard when one or another of the more powerful Member States finds that the Organization does not respond to its national interest with docility... The role assigned to the General Assembly is that of 'noting' and 'endorsing' a series of faits accomplis...

Prime Minister Barrow
of Barbados

HOW RED CHINA NEGOTIATES

When it comes to negotiation they will eventually talk in terms that are related to their national interests, their sense of a viable balance, and the desirability in some cases of the nonalignment and neutralization of areas.

Arthur Lall in his recent
Columbia University Press book

POPULATION + THE BOMB = THE END

Sydney, Australia—The world will destroy itself within half a century if it continues its present rate of population growth and nuclear armament, Australian scientist Sir Macfarlane Burnet warned here at the Technicon Symposium on Advances in Automated Analysis...

from the Medical Tribune, May 12

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Richard N. Gardner, Henry L. Moses Professor of Law and International Organization, School of Law, Columbia University
Alberto Giovannetti, Permanent Observer of the Holy See to the United Nations
Donald S. Harrington, Unitarian Minister, Community Church, New York City
Huntington Hartford, patron of the arts
Theodore M. Hesburgh, President of the University of Notre Dame
Donald F. Keys, Representative of the World Association of World Federalists to the United Nations
Morris H. Kramer, writer
Joseph P. Lyford, President of The Fund for Peace
Dorothy L. Omansky, Personnel Representative of the New York City Department of Social Services
Maurice Pezet, Assistant Director of the United Nations International School
William T. Rintoul, writer, reporter, editor
Richard L. Riseling, Director of International Affairs, American Baptist Convention
Jean Roche, Vice-President of the International Association of Universities; former Rector of the University of Paris; former President of the University of Tunis
Eleanore Schnurr, Board Member of the Fellowship of Churches and Synagogues
James H. Sheldon, author, lecturer, foreign correspondent, columnist
Carl Soule, United Methodist Church Representative at the United Nations
George S. Wise, President of the University of Tel Aviv

Thomas Liggett, Editor and Publisher Phone 212 686-1069

Missouri Church Mundializes

Wednesday evening, May 12, at the annual meeting of All Souls Congregation, members proclaimed themselves "mundialized": world citizens pledged to global cooperation under law. The resolution was brought before the congregation by Dr. Norman Royall...

The proclamation, along with a check for the United Nations special account, has been sent to Secretary-General U Thant by Dr. Raymond Bragg.

Plans are being developed for "twinning" with another Unitarian congregation in another country.

The flag of the United Nations now flies alongside the flag of the United States at All Souls Church.

In the past mundialization has been a process used by municipalities to declare themselves world cities — fragments of world territory linked to the community of man. Over half the cities of Japan, many European and Canadian, and two American cities are mundialized.

Now institutions are declaring themselves mundialized in order to encourage other institutions making up the community to join them in similar declarations and in pressing the city coun-

QUESTION FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS FOR PEACE THROUGH LAW

One must presume that the 115 members of Members of Congress for Peace Through Law are interested mainly in the problem of anarchy between nations, in the problem of creating a rule of law in the world, in the work of establishing American leadership in this field.

Then why does it go around getting itself quoted as denouncing Air Force plans to build the B-1, a new manned supersonic bomber, and attacking the Navy's plans to equip aircraft carriers with a newly designed, multipurpose swing-wing fighter called the F-14? (See the Times of May 12.)

It would seem that creating peace through law is one thing and that creating peace through better fighters is another. In a world of international anarchy it may seem necessary to build better fighters. But why should this be a concern of legislators who say they are interested in peace through law?

"You have to get military spending under control before you can begin to realize other domestic and international priorities," Sanford Z. Persons, executive director of Members of Congress

COMMITTEE FOR A GOVERNED WORLD

Because:

—there exists no public authority capable of preventing wars, halting the spread of nuclear weapons, diverting funds from destruction to human betterment, channeling energy and effort toward solutions compatible with the realities of the 20th Century;

—there is no effective institution, no structure, no plan, no world organization equipped to deal with the mounting problems of hunger, over-population, under-development, illiteracy, control of technology and outer space, the desecration of natural resources and the violation of human rights;

—mankind cannot too long endure the despotism of international lawlessness. Under the absolute and sovereign rule of the nation-states and their military establishments, there is no hope for peace, little hope for social progress, and diminishing hope for survival;

—there is no enforceable document making war a punishable crime against society; no world police corps to apprehend the guilty; no universal frame of reference to guide the decisions;

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Now institutions are declaring themselves mundialized in order to encourage other institutions making up the community to join them in similar declarations and in pressing the city council to make a municipal proclamation of mundialization.

Two local colleges have taken this action: Longview and Avila. All Souls is the first church to mundialize.

Charles Bebb
401 Harvard Circle
Kansas City, Missouri 641

IT WOULD APPEAR that the major powers have been progressively abandoning the U.N. as the main instrument for regulating international affairs. I see a positive connection between this process and the process by which a limited club of 51 members has been transformed into a nearly universal sodality of 127 independent states...It is a fact that sharp cries of dissatisfaction are heard when one or another of the more powerful Member States finds that the Organization does not respond to its national interest with docility... The role assigned to the General Assembly is that of 'noting' and 'endorsing' a series of faits accomplis...

Prime Minister Barrow
of Barbados

HOW RED CHINA NEGOTIATES

When it comes to negotiation they will eventually talk in terms that are related to their national interests, their sense of a viable balance, and the desirability in some cases of the nonalignment and neutralization of areas.

Arthur Lall in his recent
Columbia University Press book

POPULATION + THE BOMB = THE END

Sydney, Australia—The world will destroy itself within half a century if it continues its present rate of population growth and nuclear armament, Australian scientist Sir Macfarlane Burnet warned here at the Technicon Symposium on Advances in Automated Analysis...

from the Medical Tribune, May 12

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It would seem that creating peace through law is one thing and that creating peace through better fighters is another. In a world of international anarchy it may seem necessary to build better fighters. But why should this be a concern of legislators who say they are interested in peace through law?

"You have to get military spending under control before you can begin to realize other domestic and international priorities," Sanford Z. Persons, executive director of Members of Congress for Peace Through Law, said in Washington recently. "As long as we spend our substance on the military, we can't have it for building a decent world under law."

Herbert Mitgang of the Times put it this way on June 7: "Such a fleet of B-1's would be a $47-billion misunderstanding, say the bipartisan Members of Congress for Peace Through Law. This study group has issued a report that questions the need for manned bombers in the nuclear future when the superpowers possess missile deterrents. 'Redundancy in depth,' is the way Senator George McGovern, co-author of the report, describes the costly B-1's. He used to be a bomber pilot himself a couple of wars ago in southern Italy...

"Wise men and others all hope for the success of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. But in light of the Administration's commitment to huge military outlays long after Vietnam is supposed to be a dying memory, the promise of a full generation of peace carries the ring of George Orwell's Newspeak slogan for 1984: War is Peace."

INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

The U.N. Secretary - General announced on April 27 the appointment of a 15-member panel of experts to assist him in consultations and studies concerning the establishment of an international university.

REFRAIN FROM DROPPING BOMBS

A key resolution adopted by the American Baptist Convention calls for the withdrawal from Vietnam of all U.S. military personnel except those in diplomatic service, hopefully by December 31. The resolution, carried by a margin of 1999 to 1451, also directs all U.S. forces in Southeast Asia "to refrain from taking the initiative in the dropping of bombs and the firing of weapons."

from the American Baptist News Service on the denomination's convention at Minneapolis, Minn.

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—there is no enforceable document making war a punishable crime against society; no world police corps to apprehend the guilty; no universal frame of reference to guide the decisions;

—both the League of Nations Covenant and the United Nations Charter failed to create a world government. Although the current U.N. membership of over 100 nations seems impressive in number, this fact does not alter its inherent structural weakness.

Therefore:

—a Federal Constitution for the World must broadly provide a Universal Bill of Human Rights; Universal Membership; a System of Democratic Representation; a World Executive; World Legislature; World Judiciary; World Attorney of Justice; and a World Development Authority.

Esther Yudell
Chairman
Committee for a Governed World
19 East 80th Street
New York, N.Y. 10021

PEACE NEEDS MORE AUDACITY

Secretary-General U Thant repeated on May 5 his call for a conference of great powers including the People's Republic of China. "Some people will object," he said, "that many questions should be solved before such a gathering takes place. I would answer that if these questions are solved the meeting would hardly be necessary."

Moreover, he added, the problems of the world are such that "we need some audacity in our search for solutions."

CALIFORNIA GETS A WORLD CITY

Item from the Los Angeles Times of April 29: "SAN ANSELMO (UPI)—This community north of San Francisco Wednesday became the first city in California to adopt principles of world citizenship advocated by a world federalist organization. The City Council voted 3 to 2 Tuesday night to adopt the world citizenship concept and to fly the U.N. flag beside the national Flag on the city hall. Norman E. Leach, representing World Federalist Youth — U.S.A., said San Anselmo is the first city in California to make the move..."

U.N. NGO's

(Continued from Page 1)

bigotry that exists in Jamaica and other places, he noted, emphasizing the liability of all human beings to elitism.

CRISIS OF CUSTODIANSHIP

DR. MARGARET MEAD said that people obey traffic signals not so much because that's the law as because it's in their own best interests.

Just so, she told the NGO's, the peoples of the world can be expected to husband the environment of the earth when they understand the facts of their interdependence and the irreplaceability of resources.

Dr. Mead emphasized that the quality of all human life is being irreparably damaged by the malnourishment of children all over the world. Although the full nature of the fallout from the population explosion and worldwide pollution is not glimpsed, it is very clear that humanity is faced with "a crisis of custodianship," Dr. Mead declared.

"Our failure," she said, "has been the failure to recognize that all living things are part of the same biological web of life."

Exacerbating this failure of insight is the struggle for affluence. Poor nations are anxious to accept "one per cent of our gross national pollution" in exchange for whatever affluence they can attain. But pollution already puts the whole planet in danger. And now, for the first time, man knows for sure that he cannot escape to another planet, that he must work out the earth's interrelated problems or perish.

Like the revolution of rising expectations, the breakdown of biological processes presents a rush of new problems. To tackle these problems, "we need new words, new phrasing that everyone can work with," Dr. Mead said, adding that we need to stop talking in general terms of the struggle between national production and humanity—and start talking in terms of planetary planning.

"Oceans that are now being spoiled wash all shores," Dr. Mead said, and warned that "humanity," appeals to piety, will not "get us a single dish of anything good to eat."

NOT FOR BIRDS ONLY

WHAT kind of spacecraft would it be if people aboard disconnected wires whose purpose they didn't understand and threw parts out the window with no consideration of the overall functioning of life-support systems affected?

Elvis J. Stahr, President of the National Audubon Society, posed the rhetorical question to U.N. NGO's

To make Spaceship Earth more shipshape, men must establish new accounting-ecological concepts and increasingly go to the courts for the termination of damage being done to the environment. Mr. Stahr told of many young lawyers

in five weeks without food, in five days without water and in five minutes without air, he noted. Food, water and air are all now threatened for everyone by developments that pay no attention to national boundaries. Our quality of life, Mr. Stahr said, our life-support systems are threatened by the easy standard-of-living assumption that more and more is automatically better and better.

Like a competent space engineer, man must now begin to act through deep knowledge of the limits of the supplies aboard and the interdependence of the parts of the craft — or die for lack of adequate food, water and air.

ONE ALLEGIANCE NOT ENOUGH

Margaret Mead

Governments Aren't

IMMINENT DANGER of Armageddon passed when the American Ambassador went swimming in order to reassure Spaniards that an Air Force bomb, lost accidentally in the ocean, would not contaminate Spain or blow it off the map, Dr. Margaret Mead said during an interview May 12.

That swim symbolized the watershed of nuclear terror. It symbolized the growing will of everyone with nuclear bombs to assume worldwide responsibility for their use and misuse. Of course, Dr. Mead added, that is no guarantee that Armageddon won't occur.

But it does mean the fading out of the specter of world holocaust symbolized by such things as false radar clues and movies such as Doctor Strangelove and On the Beach. "I don't think," Dr. Mead said, "that any national leader could be so dumb as to start an atomic war."

Does that mean that everyone can start to relax in the euphoria that all probably is right with the world as far as atomic war is concerned?

No. Of course not. It just means that the idea that dominated peacekeeping ten, twenty years ago is changing. It used to be said that all the world must modernize in order to create peace, that developed nations must help underdeveloped nations to industrialize, that each country should give 1 per cent of its gross national product to bringing all countries up to productive par. "We realize now that worldwide mechanization is wrong," Dr. Mead said. "It creates too much pollution. It's no longer viable."

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To make Spaceship Earth more shipshape, men must establish new accounting-ecological concepts and increasingly go to the courts for the termination of damage being done to the environment. Mr. Stahr told of many young lawyers who, forsaking plush establishment jobs, turn to conservation law—"where the action is."

In recent days, Mr. Stahr noted, such legal action, under the direction of a scientific group led by Dr. Margaret Mead, resulted in a suit against the AEC for not revealing a pertinent pollution study. "Sometimes the only way you can go about a thing is through the courts," he said.

But even more important to the environment is public education. "We are not going to get much action until people want better alternatives. None of us can afford the kind of waste Americans have come to think of as their form of life. We should learn at least that it is cheaper to keep things clean than it is to clean them up."

Mr. Stahr said he is well aware that many people think of the Audubon Society as for the birds. But it is also for accountants and ecologists working together to determine the real costs of production. Basic attitudes about development — or misdevelopment — need to be examined and changed in the light of what people need to survive. Men die in five weeks without food, in five days without water and in five minutes without air, he noted. Food, water and air are all now threatened for everyone by developments that pay no attention to national boundaries. Our quality of life, Mr. Stahr said, our life-support systems are threatened by the easy standard-of-living assumption that more and more is automatically better and better.

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ONE ALLEGIANCE NOT ENOUGH

U THANT reiterated his firm decision not to seek or accept another term as U.N. Secretary-General. To the NGO's he said, "...since I regard you as some of the closest friends of the United Nations, and for that matter some of my own closest friends, ...I want you to be among the first to know that my decision is final."

The announcement followed an appeal "to try to develop two allegiances."

U Thant said, "...Everyone of us, whether American, Burmese, Chinese, Russian, French or English, understandably and naturally has to develop his or her first allegiance to his or her own State. For Americans it is natural and understandable and in many ways desirable to develop their first allegiance to the United States of America. The same applies to the Russians or the English or the French or the Chinese or the Burmese. That has been a tradition for centuries, for thousands of years.

"But...in the shadow of the hydrogen bomb, one single allegiance is not enough. Since the problems are assuming a global character, international in scope, it is very necessary and ex-

cur.

But it does mean the fading out of the specter of world holocaust symbolized by such things as false radar clues and movies such as Doctor Strangelove and On the Beach. "I don't think," Dr. Mead said, "that any national leader could be so dumb as to start an atomic war."

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"Of course national sovereignty is obsolete," Dr. Mead said, adding quickly, "it's also very modern. But I don't think there's any indication that any sanctions handed down from a supreme central authority will have any success. The thing that can have success is the instinct for survival of individuals. Even here there are no guarantees that this instinct will induce people to bring leaders to act intelligently."

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What would such a network entail?

It entails improving the specialized agencies that already exist on a world basis—and creating new ones if needed. "We already have food, postal, communications, navigation, energy, education and other agencies that operate on a world level. It's best that each of these functions be operated out of capitals situated in different places scattered throughout the world. That way there's nothing in the way of a world order to rebel against. All a world political center would do is energize rebellion."

But what are we going to do about the waste of armies, nuclear stockpiles and conventional wars?

"We are going to live in a state of deterrence. The chance of war is gradually minimizing. That is becoming clear to larger and larger numbers of of people."

What about war by accident?

"Accidents, if they happen, will no longer lead to the destruction of the world."

Quick communications abort the possibility of an all-out nuclear war? No one will keep a big war going?

"There's no chance that any government will be that dumb. Of course it's a nuisance to have stockpiles of nuclear bombs. And they are dangerous. But to build a superordinate organization to control nations wouldn't work. All you'd do would be to give people a focus for rebellion. We don't need central control. We need major systems for major functions in different parts of the world. A geographic base of control is the sort of thing that is conducive to warfare. And there's no use to attack the U.N. In a sense, what I advocate is the growth of something like the British Commonwealth and, to some extent, the U.S. working together in their own common interests." All nations should work together in such a spirit.

But how would people get on with the job of preventing war in the case of severe disagreements?

"The whole point of war," Dr. Mead said, "is pride. To blunt it, it's very important to create trust, multi-national trust."

That's why the work of the American Field Service (page 5, this issue) is so important. It opens up for students from all over the world possibilities that simply are not open to people stuck in their own little corners of the world. AFS students are conditioned by living in families abroad to open their minds to what is going on worldwide. They have the chance to get at facts and opinions withheld from most people who live solely within their native national context. With what they learn about other people they can work toward improving world understanding. That alone can lead to trust.

No system could create a sure end to war?

"No. There is no one way you are going to prevent war. There can be no guarantees," Dr. Mead said.

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But what are we going to do about the waste of armies, nuclear stockpiles

bombs. And they are dangerous. But to build a superordinate organization to control nations wouldn't work. All you'd do would be to give people a focus for rebellion. We don't need central control. We need major systems for major functions in different parts of the world. A geographic base of control is the sort of thing that is conducive to warfare. And there's no use to attack the U.N. In a sense, what I advocate is the growth of something like the British Commonwealth and, to some extent, the U.S. working together in their own common interests." All nations should work together in such a spirit.

But how would people get on with the job of preventing war in the case of severe disagreements?

"The whole point of war," Dr. Mead said, "is pride. To blunt it, it's very important to create trust, multi-national trust."

That's why the work of the American Field Service (page 5, this issue) is so important. It opens up for students from all over the world possibilities that simply are not open to people stuck in their own little corners of the world. AFS students are conditioned by living in families abroad to open their minds to what is going on worldwide. They have the chance to get at facts and opinions withheld from most people who live solely within their native national context. With what they learn about other people they can work toward improving world understanding. That alone can lead to trust.

No system could create a sure end to war?

"No. There is no one way you are going to prevent war. There can be no guarantees," Dr. Mead said.

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in five weeks without food, in five days without water and in five minutes without air, he noted. Food, water and air are all now threatened for everyone by developments that pay no attention to national boundaries. Our quality of life, Mr. Stahr said, our life-support systems are threatened by the easy standard-of-living assumption that more and more is automatically better and better.

Like a competent space engineer, man must now begin to act through deep knowledge of the limits of the supplies aboard and the interdependence of the parts of the craft — or die for lack of adequate food, water and air.

ONE ALLEGIANCE NOT ENOUGH

U THANT reiterated his firm decision not to seek or accept another term as U.N. Secretary-General. To the NGO's he said, "...since I regard you as some of the closest friends of the United Nations, and for that matter some of my own closest friends, ...I want you to be among the first to know that my decision is final."

The announcement followed an appeal "to try to develop two allegiances."

U Thant said, "...Everyone of us, whether American, Burmese, Chinese, Russian, French or English, understandably and naturally has to develop his or her first allegiance to his or her own State. For Americans it is natural and understandable and in many ways desirable to develop their first allegiance to the United States of America. The same applies to the Russians or the English or the French or the Chinese or the Burmese. That has been a tradition for centuries, for thousands of years.

"But...in the shadow of the hydrogen bomb, one single allegiance is not enough. Since the problems are assuming a global character, international in scope, it is very necessary and extremely desirable for all of us to try to develop a second allegiance, that is, allegiance to the international community. In the course of time, in my view, the second allegiance should prevail over the first allegiance. It may take a few generations, perhaps even a few centuries, but it should be our objective if we are to tackle the global problems from a global perspective and with a global approach.

"That is why the problem of the human environment is increasingly recognized as being of paramount importance to the human community, like many other global problems — population, the seabed, outer space and so on and so forth...

"As everybody knows, super-sophisticated weapons of mass destruction can be triggered at a few minutes notice... As a matter of fact the United States and the Soviet Union can destroy each other...as viable societies in a few minutes. That is the assessment of those who have studied the question of the arms race for many, many years. Whether the United States or the Soviet Union struck first, the other could retaliate because of the ICBM's, all of which, as you know, cannot be destroyed in a first strike.

"So, despite the fact that the two super-powers are manufacturing and installing super-sophisticated weapons of mass destruction, both are utterly defenseless...

"NGO's can contribute towards disarmament...if you stimulate thought among your own constituents on the terrible dangers and potentially calamitous effects of this unchecked arms race. I feel very strongly that all of you who are so dedicated and devoted to the United Nations and the ideas and ideals of the Charter should devote more and more of your time to this basic question, which is, in my view, the number one problem facing the human community."

YOUTH AND THE WORLD ENVIRONMENT

Help youth put teeth in U.N. efforts to save the environment! YOU can. You can help young people of the world come together in Hamilton, Ontario, this fall under the aegis of the United Nations to learn to use international planning machinery to save the world environment. Help give young people the knowledge that they do have an important say about the condition of the world they are inheriting. Help make this youth conference leading to the U.N. Environmental Conference in Stockholm a success.

Send your tax-exempt contributions to:

Royce La Nier
Director of the U.S. Office
Environmental Foundation International
PO Box 88, Notre Dame, Indiana, 46556

Charter!

(Continued from Page 1)

damental legal document the world has ever had. It is the greatest of all treaties and is the cornerstone of modern international law. Under the Charter, more than nine thousand treaties have been published in the U.N. Treaty Series. This means that a treaty not so registered may not be invoked before any organ of the United Nations. Thus, it is well said that the Charter is a "treaty of superobligation."

The legal authority of the U.N. must, therefore, be scrupulously preserved. It is only by honoring the Charter in deed as well as in word that we can "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

Members Shall Be States

— States only are the basis and unit of membership in the U.N. Articles 3 and 4 stipulate that members of the U.N. are and shall be "states." The Charter names five states as permanent members of the Security Council. These five, named in Article 23, include "the Republic of China." Although its sovereign power — that is, its political and military control — over the mainland is presently limited, the fact of the physical, political and legal existence of the Republic of China remains. It continues to exist as a legal and political entity. It maintains all the attributes of a modern sovereign state. It has territory, people, political organization headed by a national government, foreign diplomatic relations and membership in the U.N. It represents the cultural traditions of the Chinese nation and the moral will of the Chinese people.

— Once a state has been admitted to membership in the U.N., that membership is inviolable except under Article 6 governing expulsion (when a member "has persistently violated" the principles of the Charter). A member may voluntarily withdraw (as Indonesia once did) or may merge with another state (as Syria once did). These acts belong to the sovereign rights of the members concerned. It is correct to say, then, as one wise lady recently remarked about the Republic of China in the U.N., "No one can be expelled for no wrong-doing. Nobody can rule you out!"

— The General Assembly (whose very legal competence in the passing of binding resolutions other than budgetary is open to doubt, especially by the Soviet Union) cannot otherwise be accorded the right to deny a Member State its basic and inherent rights of sovereignty. Neither does it have the power to overrule the Charter.

While the Republic of China continues to exercise the legal will of a sovereign state, it would be a flagrant violation of the Charter and, therefore, illegal if the Republic of China were forcibly

Self-determination!

(Continued from Page 1)

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While the Republic of China continues to exercise the legal will of a sovereign state, it would be a flagrant violation of the Charter and, therefore, illegal if the Republic of China were forcibly removed from the U.N. Should this come to pass, the moral and legal authority of the U.N. will collapse. Henceforth, no Member State could ever be sure that its membership in the U.N. is inviolable.

Treaty Obligation

For its own part, the Republic of China has a contractual, treaty obligation to keep its seat in the U.N. It is a sovereign Member State. It should not discard the legal responsibilities which it solemnly undertook when it signed and ratified the Charter.

The Republic of China does not intend to compromise, much less to sacrifice, its sovereign rights as a Charter member of the U.N. For more than a century, our sovereign rights were infringed upon by foreign imperialism. Today those rights are again being threatened. We intend to meet this new threat with all the moral and legal force at our command. In defending our rights we defend the integrity of the Charter and the stability of the U.N. We appeal to the moral and spiritual conscience of mankind to help us keep our lawful seat in the U.N.

As inheritors of China's great cultural legacy, the continuing role of the Republic of China in the U.N. will strengthen the renewal of Chinese culture necessary for the progress of the world to a moral and peaceful order of the future.

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There are no easily discernible answers. The principle of self-determination is a fundamental tenet of international law. So, too, however, is the principle of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations. What we are faced with by the issue of Taiwan (Formosa) is a conflict between these principles.

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Self-determination!

(Continued from Page 1)

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Choreography!

(Continued from Page 1)

that she would begin to consider loosening large segments of trade barriers. Then, like some shy oriental maiden who had given the sign that she would welcome a suitor's attention, she waited. The response was not in the form of a rose or some such romantic symbol, but in the form of a celluloid projectile — the same shape as the world — and no invitation may have been more significant to the world in this century than the one tendered to our ping pong team.

What's the Next Step?

The ballet has begun. No one dreamed that the dancers could be induced to take the first step. Now everyone is casting about like mad to construct the balance of the choreography. What is the next step?

The next step is to let the people embrace. There is a pent-up desire in America to visit the people of China, a desire that in my opinion will take decades to satiate. If the People's Republic would but open the door, we, the people, would dearly like to embrace them, the people. The Chinese people are among the most lovable people I have ever met, and we Americans have our own individual flavor of charm that seems to appeal to the Chinese people. But, you may say, these are the people who butchered our young men in Korea, who are lending aid and support to Hanoi in killing and maiming our soldiers in Vietnam. How can you say that these are lovable people?

All mankind is endowed with bestial characteristics. Driven by greed, the desire for conquest, man has reduced more than half his numbers to disease, illiteracy and starvation. Man becomes especially bestial when he confronts someone with a dagger. Whether or not they are justified, the people of the People's Republic believed and probably still believe that, while we extend one hand in friendship, the other holds a dagger. The glint of steel near the Yalu River brought out the beast in them, and they showed that they can be as bestial as we can be. In Vietnam we hear of ordinary Americans committing inconceivable atrocities

Facts!

(Continued from Page 1)

any modification of our policy of treating Communist China as an outcast. I think this policy is changing.

It has become clear to more and more Americans that the goal of reduced armaments will be much more difficult to attain if the Chinese Communists are not party to agreements in this field. Since October it has been clear that prevention of the spread of the nuclear bomb would be impossible if China should play the game of proliferation. Despite warnings from the State Department, it seems obvious that American public opinion was not prepared to assume that the Chinese were approaching nuclear capacity. Even today, there is a tendency to find reasons for saying that they will require a long time and have to run large risks in terms of economic hardship in order to have weapons worth fighting with. There seems to be an assumption that the long time will not pass.

The need for a greater flow of information about China seems evident and urgent. The American people should be told the fact that the present government of China came to power by the action of the Chinese, in order to correct evils of the preceding regime in China, and that it acted with very little help from the Russians. Mao was clearly named the leader during the Long March, without Stalin's approval. The public should be informed that the Chinese are reacting strongly to the indignities imposed upon them for so many decades by the West, and that this explains in part their hostile stance towards us and other Western powers.

Need More Information

We need a much larger flow of information as to what is going on in China in terms of economic development, education, the application of science and technology, the roots of the trouble with the Soviet Union, the Chinese attitude towards American power on their doorsteps, the attitudes developing in the younger generation of Chinese leadership, etc.

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—The Republic of China on Taiwan is a minority government which represents neither the Chinese people as a whole nor the majority of people on Taiwan. The U.S. should withdraw its political and military support from that government.

—The issue of whether the island of Taiwan should be recognized as Chinese territory or as an independent entity raises difficult moral and political problems, but the issue is primarily one between the people on Taiwan and the people on the mainland. The U.S. has no right to unilaterally impose a solution of this issue. The U.S. should withdraw its military forces from Taiwan, recognize that Taiwan traditionally was part of China, and should encourage a peaceful resolution of the status of Taiwan by the People's Republic of China and the inhabitants of the island.

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But just as surely as there is a beast in every man there also is a spark which can flame into love. If we act so as to elicit the best in the Chinese and thereby in ourselves, who knows...

Who Should Be Invited?

If I were the Chinese I would extend the first invitations to visit to the non-political groups whose clear purpose is to build the structure of peace. I think of an organization of which I am a member: The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. There are dozens of others: The Society of Friends, The United Nations Association—The World Federalists. The World Peace Through Law Center. These people should not only be invited because they would come with good will but because they should be listened to. They think creatively and constructively about the weaving of the fabric of peace.

There will be a flood of applications to visit the mainland Republic. The Chinese will be naturally reticent and somewhat suspicious. That is why I suggest that invitations be extended to a selected list. Once the first period of reticence is over, I would expect us all to be welcome, regardless of our political flavor. If I were in the tourist business, I would be planning tours for next year.

I am fully aware that many courtship problems exist. First, China must be admitted to the U.N., not because she is peace-loving but because she represents 800,000,000 people, a quarter of the population of the world. If the U.N. were no more than a place for friends to meet, then we wouldn't need it. And what shall we do with Taiwan? Perhaps the same thing that was done with territories claimed by different sovereignties in other cases: let the people decide. Let us not forget that twelve and a half million native Taiwanese are governed by two and one half million mainland Chinese.

Difficult as these problems are, we must do all we can to make Red China a member of the family of nations. What good are non-proliferation treaties, arms-limitation treaties, treaties to govern the exploitation of the seabed for the benefit of mankind if a nation representing one quarter of the population of the globe is not a signatory thereto?

The ballet has begun. A breathless audience awaits the next movement of the dancers.

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It is clear that the Chinese, with the least traveled group of leaders in any important country, entertain grossly erroneous analyses of what the West is like and what its intentions are. Their conception of the intentions of the U.S. is a travesty on the truth. It reminds one of the earlier Soviet con-

(Continued on Page 7)

17

AFS Youth

PROFOUND FORCE FOR INTERNATIONALIS

WORLD ORDER will remain a dream until men are able and anxious to negotiate it.

Men?

More likely boys and girls now experiencing what it takes to become mature and knowing men and women, Arthur Howe, Jr., president of the American Field Service International Scholarships (AFS), speculated recently. He said, for instance, that any kind of effective world order would need a tax structure to support it. Who will be willing to pay taxes to a hypothetical organization whose mandate is not explicit, comprehensive, fully realistic and fully acceptable? Not Mr. Howe. "I am not going to pay taxes if I feel that the people in charge might steal everything in the till next month!"

The same way with setting up an effective World Court, a World Legislature, an international police force stronger than that of any one bloc of nations.

Nothing Possible Without Trust

None of these things will come about without trust between the people of the world. Trust is fundamental to the structuring of any decent system that involves binding law, democracy, police power, representation, justice — and taxes to support the works. Trust comes first. Without it nothing is possible.

"And," said Mr. Howe, "until you build the sinews of mutual awareness of interdependence, you have no basis for trust."

That's where internationalism is now. No mutual awareness. No trust. No order. No peace.

But there is hope. It rests with people maturing in a world where negotiation between nations toward peace is an imperative for human survival.

Mr. Howe doesn't spell it out, but one can gather that he believes that foremost among the negotiators for world order will be the students of the American Field Service. "Our students," he does say, "know something about the terrible difficulties of negotiating reasonable settlements between people reared in different cultures. Each student carries with him the burden of his own selfishness, his own pre-conceptions, his own idealism.

"Young people break the bonds of their own cultural confinement by living as sons and daughters in families abroad. Because of their living in families abroad, they know how hard it is to

to Australia this year for the first time on our program," Mr. Howe said, indicating interest in the AFS role of student-exchange coordinator to the world.

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Dr. Margaret Mead will address the convention at Chalfonte-Haddon Hotel headquarters. Other speakers will include H.E. Soedjatmoko, Indonesian Ambassador to the U.S.; Galo Plaza, Secretary-General of the Organization of American States; Nicole Bernheim, journalist of Le Monde; Paul Duchesne, professor at the University of Peace, Brussels; Dr. Jaroslava Moserova of Czechoslovakia, one of the first AFS students and a distinguished plastic surgeon in the treatment of burns; and many others.

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"Young people break the bonds of their own cultural confinement by living as sons and daughters in families abroad. Because of their living in families abroad, they know how hard it is to reach consensus, to live with strangers. When the boy from Ghana reaches a consensus with a Nebraska family about how to treat a specific cultural difficulty, for instance, everyone involved has participated in an exercise in solving a complex human problem."

In addition to the student from Ghana living for a school year as a son in a Nebraska family, who are "our students"?

They are mostly 17-year-olds processed out of AFS centers in 63 countries. AFS personnel in these 63 centers make financial, living, travel, schooling and many other arrangements for students going to or coming from their separate countries. In the last 25 years, more than 58,000 students from 80 countries have participated in AFS programs. World headquarters are on 43rd Street in New York City near the U.N. They sparkle with a zest clearly related to a sense of international mission.

In an important way, this mission started among World War I ambulance drivers. The kind of need for fulfillment that drove them to risk their lives in ambulance work on European battlefields led them to establish the peacetime AFS international scholarship program.

Over the years and through the wars, the AFS grew until now it is starting to arrange for "foreign" students to live and study in a variety of countries. "Chilean AFS students are going

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"Of course our students do talk about the problems of law and order between nations, the problems of national sovereignty. You can't talk about peace and not see the absurdity of our traditional concepts of national sovereignty. But we don't advocate ideas about world structures. We believe that if you teach people how to live with one another, they will create the structures the world must have if humanity is to survive.

"And I can tell you that the feeling I get of their sense of the dream of world order, world justice is just overpowering."

What precisely is the chemistry of the change from national chauvinist to world citizen?

"Take," Mr. Howe said, "a student from a developing country. Poverty pervaded his life to the extent that he's adopted the national mood of fatalism. Nothing, he thinks, will ever improve. The purpose of life, therefore, is to adapt, to conform to misery. Then, in his new 'family,' he sees that poverty and hopelessness are not inevitable. Man does have the tools to set himself free of economic need. And the student frees himself, also, from the confining spirit of the tribe. The world is wide and it beckons. Finally the student sees that the world is one community and that he's part of it. That idea comes like a smack in the face when he gets to know a real, live youngster from another culture."

Does America's stake in world understanding differ from that of other countries?

Even Our Power Failures

"Many AFS youngsters," Mr. Howe says, "have read nothing but negative articles about America, about our failures. Even our electric-power failures are reported by some of the foreign press with glee, to say nothing of the bitter criticism of things like our Ku Klux Klan. I don't think people in America know how constantly the overseas press gets at us. A 17-year-old who has read this kind of a press since he was a child presents a touchy problem to us. Living with an American family, he undergoes a liberation from distorted ideas. He begins to see the real us and we begin to see the real him. And so it is with an American student living abroad.

"Every year I get hundreds of letters from Field Service parents all over the world. Many have the same phrase, used one way or another, in one place in the letter or another. That phrase is 'common humanity.' They refer to

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"Every year I get hundreds of letters from Field Service parents all over the world. Many have the same phrase, used one way or another, in one place in the letter or another. That phrase is 'common humanity.' They refer to it as the 'key truth' they've learned. They say, almost as though they're surprised, that all people all over have the same basic needs.

"What I hear most from the youngsters themselves is different. They most often express this strong feeling of internationalism. They gradually develop remarkable bonds through their AFS year abroad, and these bonds add up to a very powerful force for internationalism."

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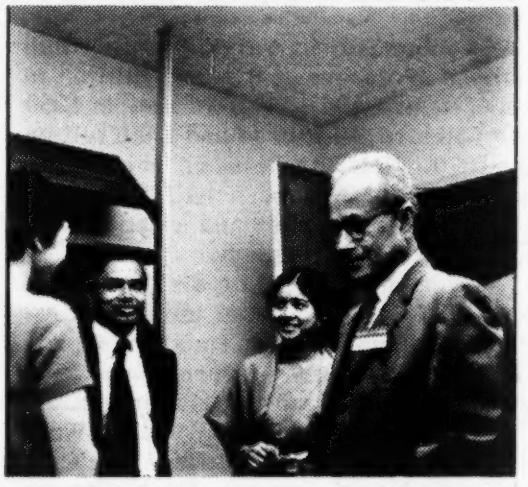
Simone Weil in The Iliad or The Poem of Force



TERROR IN PAKISTAN--The slaughter and disruption of East by West Pakistanis calls for immediate and immense international relief measures, Ali Mahmood, former vice-consul for Pakistan in New York, now representing the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, told a recent lunch meeting at 777 U.N. Plaza. Backing him up are his wife and J.K. Banerji, representative at the U.N. of the Hindustan Standard. Famine much worse than visited on East Pakistan by the recent tidal wave is sure to result from the recent violence, Mr. Mahmood and Mr. Banerji agreed. The violence was pictured as tyrannical and unreasoned in the extreme.

I think the international community should spend some time in figuring out how to bring the U.N. to the people of the world.

What better, more dramatic way than to have it meet from time to time in different capitals of the world.

Ambassador George Bush

World Over-population

United Nations Rising to Meet the Occa

"WORLD POPULATION CONTROL is so recent," James Avery Joyce writes in this article, "that many United Nations observers have not yet taken its measure." A British barrister, consultant at the U.N. and author of several books on world affairs, Dr. Joyce, Ph.D., LL.D., was appointed recently Senior Research Associate for the Law and Population Program of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts and Harvard Universities.

By James Avery Joyce

THE FIRST of the current spate of ecological books, The Biological Time Bomb, went through several paperback editions. Chapter headings included: "Test-tube Babies," "The Genetic Engineers," "Is Sex Necessary?" — instructive and amusing, but the book offered no hope concerning (as the last chapter heads it) "The Future—If Any."

A later paperback, Population Control, published in 1970, is a symposium by a dozen physicists and social scientists. Not one offers the ghost of an answer about what to do.

Yet do something we must. During the 600,000 years of the Old Stone Age, population increased at the rate of 2 per cent per 1000 years, whereas today it is increasing at the rate of 2 per cent per year. In another six and a half centuries this increase will leave each living person, mathematically speaking, only one square foot of land surface. That would leave room for no one anyplace to lie down.

Robert C. Cook, president of the Population Reference Bureau, estimates that the population of the earth amounted to some 250,000,000 at the time of Christ. "During the next sixteen centuries, the picture of population growth becomes very hazy," he writes. "There appears to have been a gradual see-sawing upward in numbers... the conditions of life for most of the human species ranged from deplorable to appalling... Still, population growth accelerated, albeit erratically, and by 1650, it had reached the 500,000,000 mark... This is the point where the curve of increase began to incline more steeply. Several factors appear to account for this phenomenon... but the fact remains that the increase in numbers...

tions. India, Pakistan, Tunisia and Egypt, prompted by their own experiences, pressed vigorously for U.N. action. By 1962 most developing countries overrode opposition in the U.N. from Latin America and Western Europe.

With that change the United Nations began to emerge as the logical agency for international cooperation in population control. It was seen that multilateral aid through the U.N. is more effective than bilateral aid, however well intentioned, because U.N. agencies promote a broad consensus. Thus, individual countries share responsibility for taking controversial steps that might be opposed by domestic interests, religious, racial or whatever.

The 1962 U.N. resolution did not authorize technical assistance to governments prepared to undertake family planning. That was still to come.

People Ahead of Leaders

During the middle 1960's, twelve countries adopted family-planning policies. Other states gave support to private programs. The U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America published a survey that showed that the people there were ahead of their leaders in respect to population control. Chile became the first Latin American country to initiate family planning through its national health service, the principal motivation being concern over illegal abortions.

An Asian Population Conference organized by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in 1963 recommended that the U.N. expand the scope of assistance.

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Population and War

Notwithstanding wars, growth rates jumped from one and a half billion in 1900 to two and a half billion in 1950 and to more than three and a half billion in 1970. U.N. predictions are that it will reach four and a half billion by 1980 and at least six and a half billion by the end of the century.

As recently as five or six years ago, only India and Pakistan mounted government programs to moderate proliferation. Thirty governments have since adopted substantial programs.

Soon after the Second World War, the Japanese people realized that they had to reduce drastically the birth rate to help recover from the war. Growth there plummeted from 2 per cent to 1 per cent. During the last ten years, both the United States and the Soviet Union achieved roughly the same reduction. Among the developing countries, Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong and Puerto Rico reveal much the same trend. These countries, with nearly 20 per cent of the world's population, show that population growth can be reduced humanely.

A "break-through" in population control occurred in 1962. The U.N. General Assembly debate that year triggered a switch in both international attitudes and national policies. In a vote of 69-to-0, with 27 abstentions, the U.N. began to provide direct support for national family planning.

Accumulation of information by U.N. bodies during earlier years had had a feedback effect. So had the pioneering work of private agencies, such as the International Planned Parenthood Federation, with its affiliated organiza-

for international cooperation in population control. It was seen that multilateral aid through the U.N. is more effective than bilateral aid, however well intentioned, because U.N. agencies promote a broad consensus. Thus, individual countries share responsibility for taking controversial steps that might be opposed by domestic interests, religious, racial or whatever.

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Arrangements for the Belgrade Conference were the responsibility of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population; of the U.N., ILO, FAO, WHO, UNESCO; and of the World Bank.

World conditions had changed since the Rome conference. Belgrade conferees called results of the First Development Decade disappointing. Problems had proved much deeper than had been imagined at Rome. Medical achievements meant that populations in most areas increased faster than heretofore. The desire for rising living standards had become general — but was being frustrated in many areas because economic growth was slipping behind population growth.

Experts at Belgrade

The scientific experts at Belgrade, including specialists from Asia, Africa and Latin America, faced the prospect that world population would more than double in less than 35 years. They saw that "population control" now reached far beyond clinical and biological topics to which population studies were mainly confined before the U.N. emerged as the essential, if not inevitable, framework for both national and supranational action. For example, a 1-to-2 per cent shift of population from farm to city posed special problems of urban sprawl, with resulting crime and disease. Conferees suggested that rural life be made more attractive, that city-type facilities and light industry be brought to the country.

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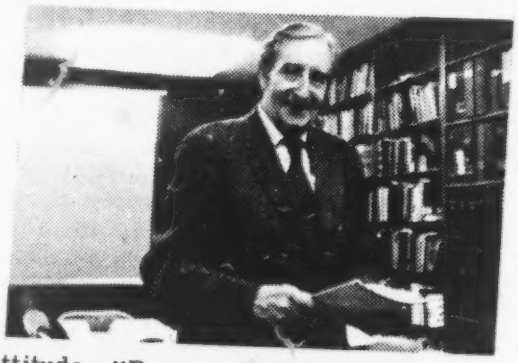
Nations Rising to Meet the Occasion

TROL is so recent," James Avery Joyce ny United Nations observers have not yet sh barrister, consultant at the U.N. and ld affairs, Dr. Joyce, Ph.D., LL.D., was arch Associate for the Law and Population ool of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts and



tions. India, Pakistan, Tunisia and Egypt, prompted by their own experiences, pressed vigorously for U.N. action. By 1962 most developing countries overrode opposition in the U.N. from Latin America and Western Europe.

With that change the United Nations began to emerge as the logical agency for international cooperation in population control. It was seen that multilateral aid through the U.N. is more effective than bilateral aid, however well intentioned, because U.N. agencies promote a broad consensus. Thus, individual countries share responsibility for taking controversial steps that might be opposed by domestic interests, religious, racial or whatever.

The 1962 U.N. resolution did not authorize technical assistance to governments prepared to undertake family planning. That was still to come.

People Ahead of Leaders

During the middle 1960's, twelve countries adopted family-planning policies. Other states gave support to private programs. The U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America published a survey that showed that the people there were ahead of their leaders in respect to population control. Chile became the first Latin American country to initiate family planning through its national health service, the principal motivation being concern over illegal abortions.

An Asian Population Conference organized by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in 1963 recommended that the U.N. expand the scope of assistance.

The U.N. held its Second Population Conference in 1965 in Belgrade. The attitude. "Respect for all beliefs commits us to this course," he said.

Of course the rights of parents with respect to family size have always been emphasized by the U.N. The General Assembly formally recognized the sovereignty of Member States "with due regard to the principle that the size of the family should be the free choice of each individual family."

In the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, adopted in 1967, the Assembly acknowledged the equal right of men and women to access to educational information "to help in ensuring the health and well-being of families." The International Conference on Human Rights in Teheran in 1968 considered that "couples have a basic human right to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children..."

In 1966 the Assembly called for a united effort on population problems and technical aid to all governments asking for it. The Secretary-General said, "On the strength of a historic General Assembly resolution, the United Nations can now embark on a bolder and more effective program of action in this field. With its Population Commission, Population Division, and its regional units, with the demographic centers closely linked to the Organization, and with the cooperation of the World Health Organization, UNICEF, and other interested agencies, the United Nations has now at its disposal an institutional infrastructure which, given some additional means, could be put to

population policies and material support at the request of governments. For the first time, population policies and programs of family planning lie at the heart of the worldwide U.N. economic, social, technical and educational effort.

World population control is so recent, much of it still being in the planning stage, that many United Nations observers have not yet taken its measure. U.N. decisions translate into a global policy, which may come as a surprise to readers of paperback authors who have written off the population "riddle" as insoluble.

Elements of the U.N. global population-control policy include:

First, the Fund for Population Activities. It already has accumulated a budget looking toward $25 million in 1971. Britain pledged a million-dollar contribution last summer and West Germany followed with more than $1.5 million. The United States started with a matching target of $3 million. Smaller pledges are coming in. The list of current projects—education and training, research, technical services, equipment, material program support—ran to nearly four million dollars in expenditures approved up to last summer. Among the range of technical assistance in increasing demand is the appointment of population program officers assigned to governments that have made family planning part of their own national planning.

Already Pledged

Second, a World Population Institute. It was proposed to the Secretary-General last December to provide governments and private organizations with training, research and technique assistance. The Institute's eight million dollar budget for the first five years would come from voluntary government and foundation contributions, most of which already have been pledged. Progress of the Institute in focusing all world population-control activities may be slow because of the political and moral pressures posed by groups opposed to birth control. David Morse, who pioneered the Institute, insists that plans have drawn little opposition. Catholic governments had been consulted

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Arrangements for the Belgrade Conference were the responsibility of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population; of the U.N., ILO, FAO, WHO, UNESCO; and of the World Bank.

World conditions had changed since the Rome conference. Belgrade conferees called results of the First Development Decade disappointing. Problems had proved much deeper than had been imagined at Rome. Medical achievements meant that populations in most areas increased faster than heretofore. The desire for rising living standards had become general — but was being frustrated in many areas because economic growth was slipping behind population growth.

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UNDP Entrusted

U Thant announced his establishment of a trust fund for voluntary contributions by governments and other institutions. This trust fund "would help us to lay the ground for training centers, as well as pilot experiments."

Paul G. Hoffman, one-time director of the Marshall Plan, now administrator of the U.N. Development Program, said in 1969 that he had entered into an agreement "under which the UNDP will be entrusted with the administration of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities. Under this important new program," he continued, "arrangements have been made to utilize the UNDP field establishment and the specific capacity and machinery of the U.N. and the specialized agencies concerned with various aspects of population programs, including that of family planning."

Last spring the Director of the Population Division of UNDP, Milos Macura, spoke of the need to anticipate economic and social implications of the current worldwide population boom: "Policy-makers at the national and the United Nations levels will have to face the realities... Not many governments can extend educational facilities by one-third or more during a short period of ten years, let alone make the necessary improvements in their educational systems. Nor can they provide employment opportunities for a labor force which will increase by one-third or more, in addition to absorbing the backlog of unemployed and under-employed."

The U.N. Fund for Population Activities was transferred to the U.N. Development Program in January 1970. The scope of the Fund's efforts extends over the range of population activities, including advice in the formation of contribution last summer and West Germany followed with more than $1.5 million. The United States started with a matching target of $3 million. Smaller pledges are coming in. The list of current projects—education and training, research, technical services, equipment, material program support—ran to nearly four million dollars in expenditures approved up to last summer. Among the range of technical assistance in increasing demand is the appointment of population program officers assigned to governments that have made family planning part of their own national planning.

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Finally, the Third World Population Conference. It will take place in 1974 and be devoted to remedies, to solutions, to programs. Other U.N. organs, the new Fund, the proposed Institute, the Specialized Agencies and the Regional Economic Commissions are preparing for this World Town Meeting. It will culminate four years of publicity and organization. It should bring family planning to every doorstep — that is, inside the bedroom of every concerned couple. It is the biggest educational campaign the U.N. system has yet attempted.

One of the last acts of the 25th General Assembly was to designate 1974 as "World Population Year," a focus for educational activities from now until then. Thus, it is hoped, no government that decides to enhance the quality of the lives of citizens by insuring that every child will be a child wanted by enlightened parents will lack means or motivation or popular support.

WHEN BABIES JUST HAPPEN

Three blind and retarded children born to a retardate in Louisiana before age 21 will cost that State $800,000 or enough to send 55 young people through college. To ensure healthier babies and safeguard the quality of future generations; to help break the stranglehold of poverty in America, Planned Parenthood-World Population provides low-income families with contraceptive help — the means to alter archaic child bearing patterns.

Margaret Mead, anthropologist extraordinary, in a PP/WP letter.

OLIVETTI EXEC PLEADS FOR 'COPERNICAN' REVOLUTION

THE CLUB OF ROME conducted studies on which an article containing the following excerpts was based. The article, appearing in the Italian business publication called Successo, is by Aurelio Peccei, president of the Club and chairman of the executive committee of Olivetti & Co. Key citizens in major cities throughout the world discuss global problems through the auspices of The Club of Rome, War Control Planners of Chappaqua, N.Y., note. They suggest that those interested might communicate with Dr. Peccei at The Club of Rome, Via Giorgione 163, 00147 Rome, Italy.

. . . TO COMPREHEND what profound processes are transforming our planet, one has but to review the orders-of-magnitude changes which have occurred in the quantities, sizes, speeds and other dimensions of nearly all the phenomena impinging on our lives; and to consider that each change compounds the effects of all others. Gigantism, superspeeds, unimaginable complexities, crushing tensions, automation, instant communications and dangers: all these measurable facts vividly underscore that the world surrounding and conditioning us is different in kind and scale from the simple, uncomplicated world, evolving at glacier pace, which underpinned the intuition, monitored the thinking and validated the behavior of all past generations, with only minor modifications from one to the other.

Even if our approach to problems and our modes of action are still captives of a retrospective thinking impermeable to the lessons of facts, and even if powerful vested interests want our attitudes to remain anchored to the past, I believe that by and large people now intimately feel our institutions and the way we do things must be changed —only to be afraid that this may happen by subversion, or at the hands of a discredited establishment. What causes this change of heart in the people themselves — more than figures and graphs —is the dismal psychological shock of a series of recent "discoveries" which have rudely dispelled certain assumptions and beliefs that have constituted the mainstay of most cultures since the dawn of history. By the same stroke, they have uprooted us from the past and proclaimed that our options for the future are limited.

The first discovery, derived from our space probing, is that there is no life in understandable terms at calling distance from our planet. A myth and a hope are shattered. We are alone. And if "out there" we can find a challenge, it will hardly have human dimensions. Our grandiose plans and exceptional feats have thus but thrown us back on our globe—where we are faced with a host of problems we cannot evade.

Then, a second trauma: this unique, terrestrial base of ours is short in some vital supplies. We knew, of course, that the nature of good old Earth was finite. But we behaved as if its bounties and attributes were practically unlimited for our purposes. The result is that the long shadows of scarcity and contamination reappear—not erratically, but over the entire world...

Moreover our psyche is tortured by the thought that we have stolen the fire from the gods, and can now destroy all human life in an amen...

The tragic aspect of our condition is that, however vital it is to grasp the sense and meaning of the changes on our planet and the ecological response they urgently demand, we are not trained to make the truly inspired effort of creative imagination which is needed...

Judged by current optics, what I suggest will appear totally unfeasible. But it is a misleading optics, which will make any move toward sanity look insane. That is why our first and foremost effort must be concentrated on changing focus and perspective, in order to learn what are the real situations facing us and their implications. Short of a comprehensive vision of the world as a unit, and of the overall interests of the human family, which far exceed their internecine rivalries, the need for a rational allocation of production among all its regions and peoples will remain unperceived, and neither a more equitable development no weeding out of malnutritio tion will ever be attained and all of us will be in because it is inconceiv world's "underclass" w year after year and decad to accept their fate of "m without revolting and tea entire system.

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SCATTER U

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AMBASSADOR BUSH today ur the United Nations revitalize port throughout the world by General Assembly and Securit sessions elsewhere than in Ne Citing the success of Preside in bringing government to the by holding Cabinet meetings ou Washington, Ambassador Bus that the General Assembly a U.N. organs meet in world c This, he said, would bring h peoples on all continents the imp and vitality of the United Nati stressed he was not proposing tionate the U.N. or to move th quarters from New York but s that "revitalization of interes U.N. is so important that

one has but to review the orders-of-magnitude changes which have occurred in the quantities, sizes, speeds and other dimensions of nearly all the phenomena impinging on our lives; and to consider that each change compounds the effects of all others. Gigantism, superspeeds, unimaginable complexities, crushing tensions, automation, instant communications and dangers: all these measurable facts vividly underscore that the world surrounding and conditioning us is different in kind and scale from the simple, uncomplicated world, evolving at glacier pace, which underpinned the intuition, monitored the thinking and validated the behavior of all past generations, with only minor modifications from one to the other.

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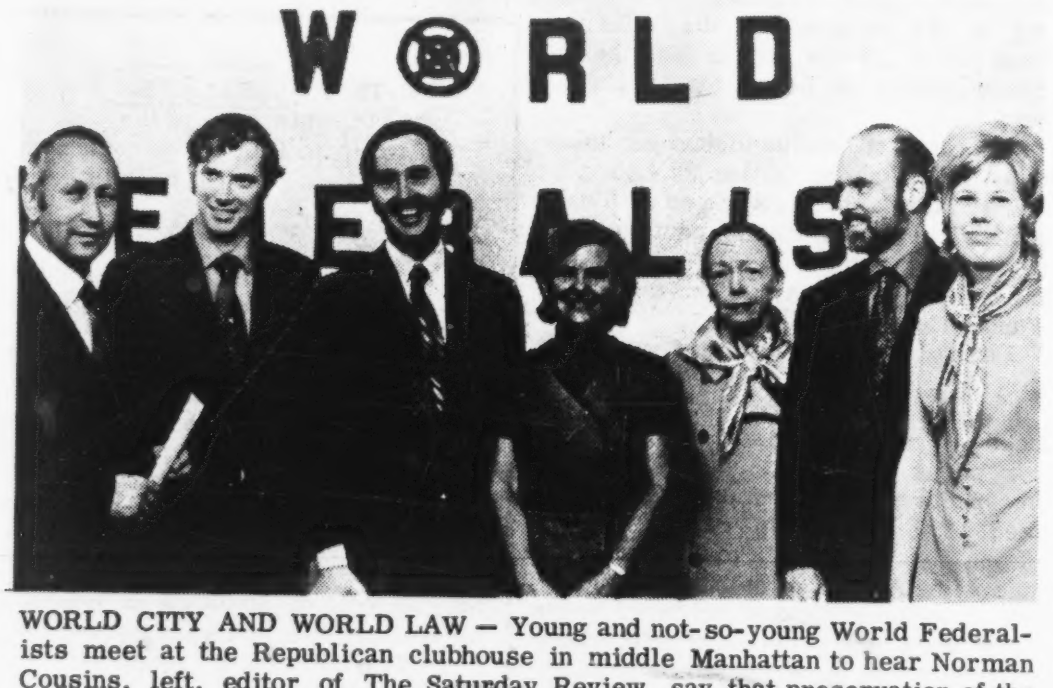

WORLD CITY AND WORLD LAW — Young and not-so-young World Federalists meet at the Republican clubhouse in middle Manhattan to hear Norman Cousins, left, editor of The Saturday Review, say that preservation of the world's environment depends on man's ability to create enforceable world law. Leonard Bowman, second from left, and Nancy Wesselman, right, reported on the presentation of a bill by Minority Leader Eldon Clingan to make New York "a world city." (See WPN for May.) Rumored suggestions that Clingan bill be rescinded in favor of a proclamation the mayor would put out, hopefully, were stoutly rejected by Mr. Clingan and Federalist Youths. "The whole purpose of the proposed world-city law is to create a grass-roots educational effort in behalf of the world law concept," Mr. Clingan said. Such a purpose would be defeated by a proclamation — especially by a mayor already well known to be a U.N. supporter. Mr. Clingan suggested that those interested in the proposed world-city law should communicate their feelings to their councilmen, to the mayor, to the majority leader of the Council, Thomas Cuite, and to Mrs. John Loeb, the city's U.N. commissioner. A table might be set up on Fifth Avenue at the Metropolitan Museum of Art on Sundays for the solicitation of petition signatures. (Photo provided by Chauncey C. Olinger, president of the New York City World Federalists U.S.A., third from the left.)

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I EXEC PLEADS FOR JICAN' REVOLUTION

ME conducted studies on which an article containing ots was based. The article, appearing in the Italian called Successo, is by Aurelio Peccei, president of an of the executive committee of Olivetti & Co. Key ties throughout the world discuss global problems s of The Club of Rome, War Control Planners of ote. They suggest that those interested might com- Peccei at The Club of Rome, Via Giorgione 163,

what profound ng our planet, e orders-of- have occurred speeds and y all the phe- lives; and to e compounds . Gigantism, e complexi- tomation, in- dangers: all vidly under- rounding and t in kind and complicated pace, which monitored he behavior n only minor o the other. o problems e still cap- hinking im- f facts, and erests want ored to the arge people tutions and be changed may happen hands of a hat causes ople them- nd graphs l shock of

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equitable development nor probably the weeding out of malnutrition and deprivation will ever be attained. And mankind and all of us will be in great danger, because it is inconceivable that the world's "underclass" would continue year after year and decade after decade to accept their fate of "marginal men" without revolting and tearing down the entire system.

Let me add some still more sobering final notes. We have made an initial, broad assumption of mankind's general objectives; and have then progressively seen that to have a chance of fulfilling them a Copernican revolution is needed in our thinking, in our ecological behavior, and in our approach to planning. Now, even if these realistic and forward postures are adopted, there is a high probability that, nevertheless, the objectives as initially stated will prove to be unattainable and have to be scaled down...

...in the end we may have to redeploy our global objectives at an average level much lower than initially figured for the next decades or the year 2000. Which means that we may be forced to reappraise in the context of the total system what the real perspectives, limitations and conditions are for the economic development of all nations, other than those which need it most and those developed, and particularly if a yet further increase or even the preservation of the living standards of the latter are compatible with healthy world equilibria.

At this point some skeptical mind, even though reluctantly agreeing that we may have to change over to forward thinking and adopt some form of system planning embodying ecological values, and so forth, may question whether this extraordinary and extraordinarily painful effort is really urgent, or may perhaps be postponed. I for one share U.N. Secretary-General U Thant's concern when he warned member states that they have perhaps ten years left in which to subordinate their ancient quarrels and launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to protect the human environment, to check the population explosion, and to supply the required momentum to world development efforts—because, if such a global partnership is not forged within this decade of the 1970's, these problems may, or certainly will, reach such staggering proportions as to be beyond our capacity to control....

SCATTER U.N.

THE UNITED STATES Mission to the ...

Facts!

(Continued from Page 4)

viction that the West was poised to attack the Soviet Union. One still hears this Soviet refrain, but it is clear that it is really not sung with conviction. The Russians now know better, and one reason for this is that so many of them have had extensive contact with this country and its leaders. Likewise, our estimate of the Soviet situation and intentions is much more realistic than in earlier decades.

What should we do to eliminate the dangerous blockage of China information exchange?

We should act to exchange publications for use by scholars. The State Department already has a quite enlightened permissive policy in this matter. At Columbia, for instance, the East Asian Library is carrying on a modest purchase program and a modest exchange program with Peking. The same is true with other scholarly libraries. But the program needs enlarging.

Millions of dollars go into bibliographical and translation programs today for Russian material. Even greater amounts should be expended in the Chinese field, because of our wider and deeper ignorance. Research and publication grants would be extremely helpful.

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...if "out there" we can find a challenge, it will hardly have human dimensions. Our grandiose plans and exceptional feats have thus but thrown us back on our globe—where we are faced with a host of problems we cannot evade.

Then, a second trauma: this unique, terrestrial base of ours is short in some vital supplies. We knew, of course, that the nature of good old Earth was finite. But we behaved as if its bounties and attributes were practically unlimited for our purposes. The result is that the long shadows of scarcity and contamination reappear—not erratically, but over the entire world...

Moreover our psyche is tortured by the thought that we have stolen the fire from the gods, and can now destroy all human life in an amen...

The tragic aspect of our condition is that, however vital it is to grasp the sense and meaning of the changes on our planet and the ecological response they urgently demand, we are not trained to make the truly inspired effort of creative imagination which is needed...

Judged by current optics, what I suggest will appear totally unfeasible. But it is a misleading optics, which will make any move toward sanity look insane. That is why our first and foremost effort must be concentrated on changing focus and perspective, in order to learn what are the real situations facing us and their implications. Short of a comprehensive vision of the world as a unit, and of the overall interests of the human family, which far exceed their internecine rivalries, the need for a rational allocation of production among all its regions and peoples will remain unperceived, and neither a more jectives as initially stated will prove to be unattainable and have to be scaled down...

...in the end we may have to redeploy our global objectives at an average level much lower than initially figured for the next decades or the year 2000. Which means that we may be forced to reappraise in the context of the total system what the real perspectives, limitations and conditions are for the economic development of all nations, other than those which need it most and those developed, and particularly if a yet further increase or even the preservation of the living standards of the latter are compatible with healthy world equilibria.

At this point some skeptical mind, even though reluctantly agreeing that we may have to change over to forward thinking and adopt some form of system planning embodying ecological values, and so forth, may question whether this extraordinary and extraordinarily painful effort is really urgent, or may attack the Soviet Union. One still hears this Soviet refrain, but it is clear that it is really not sung with conviction. The Russians now know better, and one reason for this is that so many of them have had extensive contact with this country and its leaders. Likewise, our estimate of the Soviet situation and intentions is much more realistic than in earlier decades.

What should we do to eliminate the dangerous blockage of China information exchange?

We should act to exchange publications for use by scholars. The State Department already has a quite enlightened permissive policy in this matter. At Columbia, for instance, the East Asian Library is carrying on a modest purchase program and a modest exchange program with Peking. The same is true with other scholarly libraries. But the program needs enlarging.

Millions of dollars go into bibliographical and translation programs today for Russian material. Even greater amounts should be expended in the Chinese field, because of our wider and deeper ignorance. Research and publication grants would be extremely helpful.

The U.S. should support a program of translation into Chinese of material about the U.S. This should include a press service and a pamphlet and book publication service. The success of any such program would depend largely on the cooperation of Chinese authorities, but it is assumed that a breakthrough to a new level of cooperation would be possible.

There must be a vigorous and imaginative effort to have a large exchange of persons...

It would seem possible for us to give visas to Chinese to come to the U.N. headquarters as representatives of international non-governmental organizations to which they belong.

In 1958 before the General Conference of UNESCO, I spoke in favor of a Swiss proposal to allow Chinese experts to attend conferences in various fields of UNESCO concern, as a measure of overcoming the isolation of China.

I would like to see a Chinese television program followed by a panel discussion among selected American experts on China. Such exhibitions and TV programs could play a real role in the enormous task of bringing from one nation to the other a truer understanding of real aspirations.

SCATTER U.N.

THE UNITED STATES Mission to the United Nations issued the following in a report of a speech by Ambassador George Bush, U.S. Representative to the U.N., at the Annual Dinner of the American Branch of the International Law Association, at the Yale Club, New York City, May 13.

AMBASSADOR BUSH today urged that the United Nations revitalize its support throughout the world by holding General Assembly and Security Council sessions elsewhere than in New York. Citing the success of President Nixon in bringing government to the people by holding Cabinet meetings outside of Washington, Ambassador Bush urged that the General Assembly and other U.N. organs meet in world capitals. This, he said, would bring home to peoples on all continents the importance and vitality of the United Nations. He stressed he was not proposing to fractionate the U.N. or to move the headquarters from New York but stressed that "revitalization of interest in the U.N. is so important that ways must be found to overcome" problems of communications, financing and transport in order to hold meetings in Africa, Latin America, Asia and Europe...

...LD LAW — Young and not-so-young World Federal-...an clubhouse in middle Manhattan to hear Norman ...The Saturday Review, say that preservation of the ...nds on man's ability to create enforceable world ... second from left, and Nancy Wesselman, right, ...tion of a bill by Minority Leader Eldon Clingan to ... city." (See WPN for May.) Rumored suggestions ...cinded in favor of a proclamation the mayor would ...outly rejected by Mr. Clingan and Federalist Youths. ... proposed world-city law is to create a grass-roots ...f of the world law concept," Mr. Clingan said. Such ...ated by a proclamation — especially by a mayor ... U.N. supporter. Mr. Clingan suggested that those ...d world-city law should communicate their feelings ...the mayor, to the majority leader of the Council, ... John Loeb, the city's U.N. commissioner. A table ...venue at the Metropolitan Museum of Art on Sundays ...tition signatures. (Photo provided by Chauncey C. ... New York City World Federalists U.S.A., third

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As the Snow Fell

YOUTHS FOR CONNALLY END; U.N. FO

THE WORLD ORDER Committee of the Foreign Relations Task Force of the White House Conference on Youth, held April 18-22 at Estes Park, Colorado, came out for Connally Reservation repeal, an action that would pave the way for United States participation in a World Court with authority to settle major disputes between major nations. The Committee also came out for a U.N. peacekeeping force "composed of specially trained nationally recruited contingents from states other than the permanent members of the Security Council," for universal U.N. membership, and for "the exploration of a U.N. tax on the exploitation of the Seabed and outer-space, i.e., on those resources which would be regarded as belonging to all mankind," among other things.

By NANCY WESSELMAN, chairman of the United Nations Sub-Committee of the Foreign Relations Task Force of the White House Conference on Youth.

PHYSICAL ACTIVITY during the White House Conference on Youth was almost as quiet as the falling snow, which greeted Conference participants at the expansive, isolated YMCA camp in the mountains just outside Estes Park. Like the accumulating snow that resulted in a force much more powerful than the delicate flakes, the Conference discussions and resulting resolutions reflected strong feelings of unrest and dissatisfaction among America's youth.

Immediate changes in our society were urgently demanded in all areas, from culture, ethics and values to foreign policy. Each mandate had the common end of greater human development through social justice.

Personally, I felt that a fair effort was made to provide representation from all segments of the U.S. youth population, including the minority groups and the working class. I also felt that the majority of the participants were quite serious and well informed. Most attendees worked diligently during the three days. "Task Force" and subcommittee meetings lasted until 2 a.m. and 3 a.m., with little protest.

The 1500 participants, 500 adults and 1000 youths 24 and under, were divided into various task forces, which presented resolutions adopted within each body to the general conference the final working day. I was assigned to the Foreign Relations Task Force, and, within that working group, participated in the World Order Workshop. I was pleasantly surprised that such a workshop had been built into the conference structure.

I can only report generally on the results of the Foreign Relations Task Force. The proceedings of the total conference will not be available for a

to a U.N. agency charged with the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Vietnam. The U.N. also was called upon in such areas as environment, human rights and population control.

As I was particularly interested in the views of the delegates regarding the role of the U.N., I felt the passage of the following resolution was very significant. I want to share parts of it with you because it gives an indication of the direction in which the delegates were thinking and also provides an example of the steps they thought should be taken.

Of course, the value of the White House Conference on Youth cannot, as yet, be measured. Its impact depends on follow-up. If youth takes the vote seriously, the resolutions provide excellent lobbying material. If candidates and legislators take the youth vote seriously, the resolutions are indeed worth heeding!

To be submitted to the President in the name of his Conference on Youth:

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Whereas: global problems, i.e. ecology, poverty, war, population, human rights and disease require global solutions.

Whereas: a strengthened United Nations could become an effective international authority to implement agreed law at the planetary levels in matters of planetary concern as national, provincial, or state and local levels do now.

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED: that we, the Foreign Relations Task Force of the White House Conference on Youth, commend the decisions of the United Nations

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IV. Peacekeeping
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I can only report generally on the results of the Foreign Relations Task Force. The proceedings of the total conference will not be available for a couple of months. Interesting cross-trends then surely will be seen in the reports of the various task forces.

The most immediate issue before the Foreign Relations Task Force was, of course, Vietnam. The resolution adopted calls for an immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and a rejection of the "Vietnamization" program, although there was strong minority support for gradual withdrawal and continued Vietnamization efforts.

Channel Efforts Through U.N.

Most foreign policy resolutions requested a lessening of U.S. interference in the affairs of other nations. It was encouraging to observe the rejection of any proposals suggesting neo-isolationist policies. Instead, there was a surprising amount of support for channeling efforts through the U.N. and international agencies.

A resolution passed by the Foreign Relations Task Force and endorsed by the conference as a whole proposed that the U.S. engage in U.N. Charter Review studies, that the U.S. rescind the Connally Reservation and support the International Court of Justice, that the U.N. consider creating a large peacekeeping force, that the U.N. "explore" a U.N. seabed and outer-space tax, and that U.N. membership be universal.

This resolution will now become part of the final White House Conference on Youth Report and will be submitted to the President and other government officials. The report also will be used as the text for hearings and for lobbying.

One manifestation of U.N. support was the passage of another resolution calling for the donation of U.S. funds

As I was particularly interested in the views of the delegates regarding the role of the U.N., I felt the passage of the following resolution was very significant. I want to share parts of it with you because it gives an indication of the direction in which the delegates were thinking and also provides an example of the steps they thought should be taken.

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Whereas: global problems, i.e. ecology, poverty, war, population, human rights and disease require global solutions.

Whereas: a strengthened United Nations could become an effective international authority to implement agreed law at the planetary levels in matters of planetary concern as national, provincial, or state and local levels do now.

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED: that we, the Foreign Relations Task Force of the White House Conference on Youth, commend the decisions of the United Nations

a. to consider reform of the procedures of the General Assembly
b. to study in 1971 the views of Member States on the role of the International Court of Justice
c. to study in 1972 the views of Member States on the need to consider proposals for reviewing the Charter of the United Nations

We further urge that the United Nations, in its study of possible Charter Revision, place particular emphasis on the question of voting procedures in the Security Council and General Assembly.

These decisions represent a responsible and timely response to the conviction of the great majority of States that the United Nations must be improved and given greater responsibility in the conduct of world affairs.

WE SPECIFICALLY REQUEST THAT: The President of the United States initiate high level studies in the executive branch of the government to determine what changes should be made in the Charter of the United Nations in order to make it a more effective force in the pursual of a just and lasting peace and the advancement of fundamental human rights and freedoms.

The President is further requested to report to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives before March 31, 1972, the results of such studies.

The Government of the United States is requested to support the formal calling of a conference to review the United Nations Charter in accordance with Article 109 of the Charter, not later than 1974.

In addition to the above proposals, we also instruct the United States to

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World Peace News
777 United Nations Plaza, Room 11G, New York,
attn: Daniel J. Bo

Clearinghouse for Educat
970 Aurora,
Telephone (30

FOR CONNALLY END; U.N. FORCE, TAX STUDIES

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Whereas: global problems, i.e. ecology, poverty, war, population, human rights and disease require global solutions.

Whereas: a strengthened United Nations could become an effective international authority to implement agreed law at the planetary levels in matters of planetary concern as national, provincial, or state and local levels do now.

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED: that actively support the following recommendations:

I. International Court of Justice

The World Court is presently in a state of disuse. The reasons are several but fundamentally it is the historic conflict between the sovereignty of the nations and the jurisdiction of the Court.

As a first step toward overcoming the problem, we recommend the United States rescind the Connally Reservation. We also urge that the United States join other nations in accepting the decisions of the Court as binding...

IV. Peacekeeping

The primary responsibility of the United Nations is the maintenance of international peace and security. This role has not been satisfactorily fulfilled primarily due to the lack of adequate peacekeeping machinery and the prevelance of nationalistic attitudes of States...

We advocate the following related measures be considered to improve the United Nations' peacekeeping capabilities.

1,.. 2. A significantly large peacekeeping force should be composed of specially trained nationally recruited contingents from states other than the permanent members of the Security Council.

V. Universal membership

Membership in the United Nations should be universal and the jurisdiction of the United Nations, as defined in the Charter, should equally be universal...

VI. Financing

...We advocate the exploration of a U.N. tax on the exploitation of the Seabed and Outer-space, i.e. on those resources which would be regarded as belonging to all mankind.

We further advocate that the United Nations Special Account, established for the collection of private and corporate donations, be given wide-spread publicity.

Fund for Peace for Conciliation

"ALL TOO OFTEN information about the Middle East conflict is incomplete, inaccurate and one-sided and tends to polarize positions and to stifle discussion rather than to promote better understanding," according to a statement put out by the Arab-Israeli Research and Relations Project of the Fund for Peace, 1865 Broadway, New York City.

Goldberg, Lall Co-chair IAN; Study Power

IAN, the Institute of All Nations, recently announced that former Ambassador to the U.N. Arthur J. Goldberg and Arthur S. Lall, former U.N. Ambassador from India, now a professor of international affairs at Columbia University, accepted co-chairmanships in the multi-project organization.

With headquarters at 230 East 81st Street, New York City, the Institute now focuses on three projects:

Project 1 is "A Study of the Greed for Power and Its Effects on the Condition and Well-being of the Family of Man." Invited to contribute papers to the study have been Gunter Grass, Cesar Chavez, Andre Malraux, C.P. Snow, David Ben Gurion, Picasso, Earl Warren, Nikita Khrushchev, Lyndon Baines Johnson and others.

Project 2 is to establish a "Peoples Representative Body of All Nations for Peace" through the medium of an exchange program leading to an International Peace Congress. Travel expenses involved in getting together a Representative Body of 25 people from countries in or near conflict, to be exchanged for a period of two weeks, will be borne by IAN.

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"Our aim," the statement continues, "is to unite with Americans, Arabs, Palestinians, Israelis and others to seek areas of conciliation and also guidelines and procedures which could help promote this conciliation. We shall promote scholarly research on pertinent topics, including those relating to the reasons for the failure of past peace efforts and to the rise and consequences of Palestinian nationalism."

The project has published an annotated bibliography listing 25 books on the Middle East. Designed to aid the general reader in finding pertinent and objective material on the Middle East, the bibliography may be obtained from Fund offices (zip 10023).

Louise R. Berman, Fund executive director, writes that the project has "undertaken a good deal of work in the hope of discussing missed opportunities for peace in such a way that future prospects will be supported and realized. The things we want to do are primarily important to the work of informing American opinion. Polarization must be mitigated and there needs to be more general understanding of the very intricate problems and sensibilities of the peoples in the Middle East.

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The Institute is "a non-political, nonpartisan, non-sectarian community of scholars, scientists, artists, leaders and people from all walks of life across the world dedicated to the purpose of practically improving the human condition."

NOTE TO LIBRARIANS
at the conference of the
American Library Association
in Dallas

From Luther H. Evans

Luther H. Evans,
former Librarian of Congress

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